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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Catholic Press Month. "Most Protestants," says Harold E. Fey in the *Christian Century* for December 13, 1944, "have little conception of the circulation and influence of the Catholic press," with its 332 Church publications and 9,000,000 circulation. There is, he observes, "enough evidence to prove that already it has rendered substantial help in the winning of America to Catholicism." Three main methods are listed by which this influence is strengthened: marked improvement in its technical workmanship, the activities of the Catholic Press Association, and the annual observance of National Catholic Press Month. "Few parish priests," notes Mr. Fey, not without alarm, "can ignore the obligation which the Hierarchy lays upon them to build the circulation of Catholic papers." Well, if we have any concern for the state of public opinion, few Catholic laymen can in conscience ignore it, either. Catholic Press Month is the time to recognize not only an obligation but a mighty privilege. By registering this February his full support of his own press, the Catholic layman has now an unparalleled opportunity to make his belief and his principles count in the critical affairs of the nation.

Jobs for Everybody. The "job-budget" or "full-employment" bill foreshadowed by Senator James Murray's report to Congress last December has now been introduced in the Senate under the sponsorship of Senators Murray, Wagner, O'Mahoney and Thomas of Utah. The bill proposes that the President annually furnish the Congress with estimates of the probable number of job-seekers during the ensuing twelve months, the private and public investment and spending necessary to provide jobs for them, and the amount of such investment and expenditure actually in prospect. If the number of jobs expected falls short of requirements, the President is empowered to suggest public policies which would help private business to achieve full production and employment. In the event that he deems these policies insufficient, he is further authorized to offer a program of Federal expenditure and investment calculated to close the gap between job-seekers and jobs. With this report before it, Congress would act or not as it saw fit. The preamble of the bill states that "it is the policy of the United States to foster free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital, in trade and commerce and in the development of the natural resources of the U. S." This legislative design for a postwar economy of abundance is the first concrete attempt to fulfil the campaign promises of both candidates to assure a postwar order of full production and employment.

Where are the Japanese? MacArthur's forces have covered more than half the distance from Lingayen to Manila. Only in the northern sector have they run into any real opposition. The road south has been almost clear sailing, until at this moment American forces have succeeded in taking the largest air base in the Islands practically without opposition. Ahead lies Manila. Are the Japanese planning a stand in front of the city, or are they to yield this prize without a struggle? At the beginning of the war Japan had a huge army. In the years since Pearl Harbor thousands of boys turning eighteen, trained in military science since the age of twelve, have joined the forces; yet nowhere in all the hard road back to Manila have our troops encountered really large concentrations of

Japanese troops. The Japanese army must still be huge and largely intact. It may be, of course, that American naval and air supremacy has made it practically impossible for Japan to move these troops. It may also be that Japan is saving the bulk and the best of her army for a desperate last stand on native soil. If so, then even the joy of the pending fall of Manila should be tempered by the realization that the hardest of the Eastern fighting still lies ahead. The war is far from won.

Paul and Winston. "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, or the head to the feet, I have no need of you." Saint Paul said that; and though he was talking of the Mystical Body of Christ, his words could very aptly be used to illustrate also the oneness of the family of nations of which Pius XII spoke in his Christmas message. "We have no political combination in Europe in respect of which we need Italy as a partner. We need Italy no more than we need Spain, because we have no business which requires the support of these Powers." Winston Churchill said that; and it sounds, if not ominous, at least open to very serious misinterpretations. Mr. Churchill, we take it, is tremendously interested in that "political combination" of all nations imperfectly framed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, at Teheran, in the Moscow meeting. The big "business" that he and his fellow statesmen of the world will soon have in hand is the formation of an international organization of all the nations, which alone can preserve world peace. No nation is too big not to need this organization; no nation is too small to be considered unworthy of admittance. The very basis of world organization is the recognition of the oneness of nations, and that means also

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of the need that every nation has of every other nation. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin should read Saint Paul before their next meeting.

Russia Yields. Putting an end to what was a most delicate situation, the U.S.S.R. has at last made available to UNRRA port facilities and the necessary visas for the administration of relief in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. It is variously conjectured that the freeing of the Dardenelles and/or recently completed political arrangements with the Lublin government made the step currently possible for Moscow. Whatever the reason or the occasion, it is a step taken none too soon. It remains now for the relief to go forward speedily. Poland needs it sorely; it would be a crime if its administration became a political football. The tragedy of UNRRA relief in Greece must not be repeated in Poland.

Billion-Dollar Banks. Year-end bank statements disclosed that we now have fifteen banks with more than billion-dollar deposits. Nine of these, including three of the four largest, are in Manhattan. The statements also revealed that the nation has for the first time a five-billion-dollar bank, the Chase National reporting its resources at the close of 1944 at \$5,160,000,000. San Francisco's Bank of America, with resources totaling \$4,599,000,000, passed New York's National City as the second largest in the country. National City's assets were put at \$4,470,000,000. No doubt these figures inspired confidence in Wall Street where bank stocks moved to higher levels. But to the citizen concerned with the future of the United States they raised questions which are not easily answered. Do not these huge concentrations of financial power bring the dawn of collectivism ever nearer? What other answer is there to Big Business than still Bigger Government? If any group is plotting to take over the country, would it not chortle with glee over the steady increase in billion-dollar corporations? In short, if private collectivism exists among us, can public collectivism be far away? But these questions did not disturb investors; and Wall Street, as a New Year opened, continued on its merry way.

Leave Mom Alone. A correspondent to one of the daily papers takes advantage of a slowly growing campaign against the term GI Joe to register a protest also against the use of Mom. He does not think it authentic. Be careful, Mister! Mom is a sacred word, and Mom 'n Pop a sacred combination of words. When we were young, "mother" as a term of address was almost considered affectation, just as the use of "mater" might be today. "Mama" was a term, we thought, only for the very, very young. So, as we grew older, we merely shortened Mama to a still more affectionate and, we thought, more manly Mom. Today, it seems, children more generally address their mothers as mother; yet (with or without the backing of Webster or Mencken) millions of soldiers throughout the world start their letters home, "Dear Mom," and thousands of homes still ring with the stridently affectionate shout of "Hey, Mom!" We like it. We think Mom does, too. There is even on a chalice we know, used daily in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, inscribed very simply, "In memory of Mom." We would not want to change that.

Graduate Education. The biggest share of attention in the Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching goes to graduate education. In top place is "A Future for Graduate Education," by the late president of the Foundation, Walter A.

Jessup (d. July 5, 1944). There are three basic problems in the graduate field, he says, which cry for solution, "not hastily but promptly, wasting no time over the accumulation of data for accumulation's sake and, instead, relying upon the convictions that grow from the union of experience and vision." The three problems are: 1) the proper timing of specialization, on the model, perhaps, of medical specialization, which has tended to broaden the base, increase the time of study, and defer specialization; 2) recognition of the differing types of graduate training needed by scholars and research workers on the one hand, and by teachers on the other; 3) making the ideal of graduate education for future teachers "no mere professional or technical education" but "that large and generous culture which brings out the whole man and commits him to the active life, with the capacity of estimating from the highest points of view all the knowledges and agencies which enter into the well-being and progress of society." Solving these problems would do quite as much to raise educational standards as the much sought-after Federal aid as a base for raising teachers' salaries.

Left-Wing Dilemma. Left-wing groups in Italy find themselves in an awkward dilemma in the current votes-for-women campaign in Italy. As professed liberals they feel bound to throw their influence behind the movement for woman suffrage. But they fear that the extension of the vote to women would enormously increase the strength of their most powerful political rival, the Christian Democratic Party. The leader of the Christian Democrats, Dr. Alcide de Gasperi, Foreign Minister in the Bonomi Government, has come out strongly for woman suffrage. He argued, as quoted in *Religious News Service*, that "the good sense of reasoning women would be most useful in administrative life" and "would bring greater idealism into politics." Prevented by their own principles from opposing this movement, Left-wing leaders have countered with a proposal that goes much farther, in the hope, perhaps, that in this way they might defeat the movement altogether. They ask for legislation under which municipal councils would have one woman representative in every ten. In the meantime they are carefully soft-pedaling the more explosive planks in their platform, such as divorce and birth-control issues, for fear of arousing strong Catholic opposition.

The Transatlantic Touch. From a British Government Order: The Ministry of Food hereby makes the following orders: The Food Sector (sector scheme) Order 1943 as amended (letter A) shall be further amended by inserting in the second schedule thereto the entry "nuts."

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THE NATION AT WAR

IN THE WEEK ending on January 22, the great military event has been the astounding progress of the Russian winter offensive. It has broken through the German front and has inflicted a defeat from which it will be hard for Germany to recover.

The initial Russian attack was delivered on the 12th. It was directed through south Poland towards Krakow, which has been taken and passed. The advance has covered 140 miles in 11 days and has arrived within Silesia.

On the 14th, two additional Russian attacks were launched, one north and the other south of Warsaw. The latter in 9 days has advanced 125 miles due west, headed apparently for Poznan. North of Warsaw, and also north of the Vistula River, the Russians went in a northerly direction and have made 80 miles in 9 days.

On the 15th two more Russian offensives started, one on each flank beyond the preceding ones. At the north end of East Prussia the Russians made 40 miles towards Koenigsberg and have made 40 miles in 8 days, with about 45 miles to go to reach their objective.

At the south boundary of Poland, and extending over into Slovakia, came the final Russian offensive. This moved due west and has made 85 miles in 8 days.

In all there are five Russian offensives, of which three are moving west towards the heart of Germany, and two are going north against East Prussia—one at each end of that province.

It seems certain that the Germans expected this offensive, but did not foresee its extraordinary power. The Russians seem to have such numbers of troops, and such masses of tanks, guns and planes as to have overwhelmed the German defenses.

At date of writing, it appears that the Russian front is composed almost entirely of motorized troops, which in some cases are far ahead of their main bodies. In their advance large bodies of German troops were by-passed, whom the Russians are now seeking to encircle and destroy. The Germans are either trying to withdraw or are attempting to cut off supplies from the Russians in the forward areas. This battle may decide the war.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS coming within a week of each other give a fairly good idea of what the President meant when he said that in domestic policies he was going to act "a little left of center." It is not often that a quarterback announces in advance where he is going to hit the line, unless a particular spot is notoriously weak. So when the President, who once likened himself to a quarterback, made his announcement, it must be he thought there was a weak spot at the opposite right guard.

The two events were the annual report of the Social Security Board and the introduction of the long-heralded full-employment bill by Senators Murray, O'Mahoney, Thomas and Wagner. The report and the bill, taken together, have revealed the weak spot in our economic system.

This weak spot is in security, which comes from lack of planning in advance and results in unemployment and other disabilities. The full-employment bill is designed to supply the planning and the social-security proposals will take care of whatever ills happen to arise out of insufficient planning or are inherent in our system.

Conservatives are no doubt pleasantly surprised, as the radicals are obviously taken aback, by the moderation of Senator Murray's bill. The President points out the need, Congress legislates for it, private enterprise does the rest. Public works will come in only in case of deficiency, and even then private enterprise, not a WPA, will carry out the needed construction with Federal money.

This looks like a balanced cooperation between all the elements in the national picture, with the Executive acting as a research body rather than a regimenter, and with subsequent executive action reduced to a bare minimum of supplying necessary funds.

The social-security proposals will no doubt form the material for a revised Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill yet to be introduced or, as the Board suggests, for a series of separate bills, each to be considered on its own merits. Thus the medical-insurance proposals will not jeopardize the whole, though it is hard to see how the doctors can object to these in their present form, since they merely enlarge among more people the funds available for the payment of doctors' fees.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

THE ARCHBISHOP of Baltimore and of Washington, Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, emphasized the need of religious training in public schools in a message to public school teachers of the District of Columbia. "In our population today," he wrote, "we have between sixty and seventy million who never think of God . . . and have no sense of obligation to Him Who made them. That situation is not healthy for our great nation and I am afraid it is increasing instead of diminishing as the years go on."

► JOC in France has just given new evidence that it came through the Nazi occupation with undiminished vitality. Notwithstanding bad weather, 25,000 young men and women attended a JOC assembly in Paris on January 15. These representatives of the Christian Labor Youth Movement proclaimed their love for Christ and offered as a solution to world problems His mandate: "Love one another."

► "The dominant force in the life of Alfred E. Smith was love of God; and since he loved God deeply, he also loved his fellowmen, his country and his world." With these words

Archbishop Spellman paid tribute to the "Happy Warrior" at the opening of the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Exhibition in the Museum of the City of New York.

► The Very Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt has been appointed director of the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America. In announcing the appointment, Msgr. Patrick J. McCormick, Rector of the University and President of the Commission, revealed that the Faith and Freedom Readers, prepared by the Commission, are being used in more than 8,000 Catholic elementary schools throughout the country. Msgr. Hochwalt is also Director of the Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

► The Polish Telegraph Agency quotes a letter from Winston Churchill to Lord Alfred Douglas, a Catholic convert, in which Mr. Churchill declared that Great Britain "shall not depart in any way from our resolve that independence, domestic freedom and full sovereignty of the Polish State will be preserved."

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

MUST WE KEEP CAPITALISM?

WILLIAM T. HOGAN, S.J.

THAT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE and the adoption of our constitutional form of government coincided with the development of modern Capitalism and free enterprise, was a mere historical accident. It was an accident, however, which had great influence on the economic, political and psychological development of the United States and its people.

This coincidence has caused Americans, who have never lived under any other economic system, to identify Capitalism with the American constitutional form of government. Consequently any other system of economics, or any proposal to alter or modify the traditional capitalistic system, has ever been regarded as an insidious and subversive assault on our fundamental constitutional rights. We have tended to look upon Capitalism as the only system compatible with the American way of life, a judgment based on the fact that our nation grew up with Capitalism.

We may well argue, and with good logic, that we could not have achieved our industrial wonders, the rapid expansion of our economy and the utilization and coordination of its resources to the extent that we did between the Civil War and World War I under any other type of economy. Only a system that offered rich rewards for industry and genius could have inspired the personalities that dominated the American industrial scene of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to perform the miracles of production and organization that constitute so spectacular a page in our history.

FACTORS IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH

However, much discussion on the merits of Capitalism, aimed at restoring its pristine purity, overlooks the fact that it was by no means the system alone and in itself that lifted the United States to industrial and commercial supremacy. It is indeed true that Capitalism played an important role in our development; but of much greater significance was the presence of several conditions exterior to the system itself. These conditions were fundamentally requisite to its success.

What were these conditions? For our purposes they can be reduced to four: 1) a rapidly expanding population; 2) thousands of square miles of unclaimed, fertile land containing great natural resources that had yet to be developed; 3) the rapid scientific development of technological improvements in methods of production and manufacture; and—by no means of least importance—4) an economic mentality and outlook of unbounded optimism characterized by the "rags to riches" slogan, which inspired men to take chances in business and to gamble heavily because possible profits were enormous. It is the combination of these four factors with the capitalistic system of free enterprise, and not the system itself, that gives us the complete explanation why the United States was looked on as the land of opportunity.

Shifting to the present, we can discover some explanation of why Capitalism has been powerless to move our economy out of the doldrums of depression which lasted from 1930 until the outbreak of the war, by comparing the present state of the above four factors with what they were during the period of our rapid industrial expansion.

Our population today, although greater numerically than

it was toward the end of the last century, is increasing much more slowly. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 there was an increase of over 80 per cent. This fell off, however, to such an extent that the next thirty years up to 1940 brought an increase of less than 40 per cent. We are not concerned here with the causes of the decline but with the mere fact that there has been a decided drop in the rate of population growth. This was bound to have a telling effect on our capitalistic system, which depends essentially on long-range expansion as well as privately owned free enterprise. The rapidly increasing population of the last century presented manufacturers with a constantly expanding market, which in turn encouraged credit expansion in order that production could be stepped up to meet the ever growing demand for all types of goods, including basic commodities.

Thus population, a factor extrinsic to the economic system, exercised a considerable force on its operation.

Now the slower increase in our population—and the increase seems to be slowing down as the years go by—has cut down the possibility of new and expanding markets, with the result that production, although greater physically than it was at the end of the last century, is no longer planned for great new markets. (It is quite true that a post-war boom may for a time open new markets to American industry. The last war, however, taught us that this type of market is a temporary one.) Our production under normal circumstances is to a very great extent geared for markets that have become relatively stable. In the heavy-goods industries this means, for the most part, production to replace worn-out or obsolete equipment and comparatively little for over-all plant expansion. The large demand for producers' goods, i.e., heavy machinery and equipment, that is expected after the war will represent in most cases the aggregate demand for these products during the past five years.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Regarding our second factor, territorial expansion, there has been a complete change. As far as the United States is concerned, all our land has been claimed and settled and most of it has been well developed. The possibility no longer exists for those who are living below a decent standard in the Eastern cities to pull up stakes, move westward and start life anew on land they could claim or buy for a nominal sum.

This was possible toward the end of the last century and it had a tremendous effect on our economy. In the first place it necessitated the construction of new railroads, to such an extent that between 1870 and 1900 about 150,000 miles of new track were laid, a fourfold increase in railroad mileage in thirty years. It is almost impossible to measure the magnitude of the impact such an expansion had on the entire nation. Steel and iron production were given a great stimulus, which was extended to the mining of coal. In addition to this, the actual laying of track employed thousands of men over a long period of time.

Territorial expansion likewise provided a new market for farm-machinery and equipment, led to the growth of small towns and the development of new cities with the accompanying building boom, and provided a new demand for retail and professional services. However, when we had settled the last section of our land, we reached the end of railroad expansion with all its attendant effects. As a matter of fact, a contrary process has become the dominant one in the railroad industry. There are 20,000 less miles of track in use today than there were twenty years ago. We are not

concerned here with whether or not abandoning these lines was a sound business policy, but with the mere fact that they were abandoned, thus cutting down the demand for iron, steel and labor.

An added consequence of the termination of territorial expansion is that very few, if any, new market areas are being opened to existing industry and retail trade.

Thus our second factor, expanding territory, external to the capitalistic system but of great significance to it, has not only been materially changed but has been quite completely removed from the scene.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The third factor mentioned above, technological development, has, contrary to the first two, undergone a definite improvement. No one would dare dispute the fact that our methods of production are far superior to those of 1880, or even 1930. It must be considered, however, that these improvements in technology have not brought forward any new industry, with the exception of the automobile industry, that has had a great impact on the other industries of our economy.

The automobile industry took up the slack left by the railroads in the past twenty years. Besides the actual manufacture of the vehicles, thousands of miles of highways were constructed and have to be maintained, a great impetus was given to the steel industry, and gasoline and oil developed into one of our leading businesses. But the automobile industry has nearly reached its peak as far as expansion is concerned. The only remaining possibility of increasing its market is in the low-priced car field. This has been tried for the past ten years and it is doubtful that a much greater increase in demand can be created in this direction.

These facts indicate to us that, although our technology has improved vastly, we have failed to develop a large-scale industry in the past fifteen years. An industry with far-reaching effects that would bring about an expansion of the market so essential to the capitalistic economy, might, if developed, be the answer to many of our postwar economic problems.

THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY

Our fourth factor, an optimistic outlook inspiring men in business to invest capital heavily, has, as a general stimulus, disappeared today. The return on investment in a well developed economy, such as ours is now, is relatively small. No one dreams of becoming a millionaire overnight, and few indeed consider it as a lifetime possibility. Business firms have become very cautious about launching new products or embarking on new ventures. In the case of a new product, the market is first sounded out by public-opinion agencies and then the product is tried in a limited area before it is placed on the market for general consumption. The stress today is placed more and more on the elimination of risks. This cautious economic attitude can be seen in the desire that most young people of our generation have for security rather than wealth, and is brought out by the increasing numbers applying for civil service in the past few years.

Although the attitude of security and caution is a product of the times and existing economic conditions, it, in turn, exercises its effect on economic conditions. Part of this effect has been the trend toward increased saving and sound investment yielding a low but steady return. In spite of the war, the last few years have also seen a considerable reduction in speculation in stocks.

Therefore a consideration of the change in these four

factors shows us that, although they are extrinsic to our capitalistic system, they exert such an influence on it that once they had changed materially the system could no longer exist as it did before this change occurred. Because we have identified Capitalism with Americanism, we look upon the evolution of the system with considerable alarm. How much more sensible it would be to consider these changes as part of the historical development in which the ways and means of satisfying human wants are continually changing and will continue to change until the end of time. It is more difficult for Americans to take this historical point of view than it is for the Europeans, who are constantly reminded of past economies, since even today certain aspects of them still remain as part of their civilization. We, on the other hand, who have known only one economy, are inclined to regard even the changes of the last fifteen years with suspicion and as a temporary expedient to tide us over until matters return to normal. This is strictly wishful thinking. We can no more return completely to the pre-Depression economy than we can return to the year 1920. This, however, should not and will not have any derogatory effect on our fundamental institutions of government. Our constitution is certainly flexible enough to absorb changes in our economy and still preserve American liberty and freedom.

What changes we will face in our economy during and—still more important—after the postwar boom no one can accurately predict. There will be changes, changes of a permanent nature; and we must be prepared to accept them and absorb them into the constitutional framework of our government.

SPIRITUAL BASIS OF HOLLAND'S RESISTANCE

L. BLEIJS, C. SS. R.

TO FORM A TRUE IDEA of the active and passive resistance movement in the Netherlands—a resistance which has the cooperation of a very large part of our people—we must consider it not only in its present state but also in its origin and growth.

Resistance has existed since May, 1940, but during the four years of German occupation the meaning of the word changed considerably. When we speak now of resistance, we immediately think of its comprehensiveness, its systematic organization, its unbreakable power. But that is something of the last two years.

INITIAL STAGES OF RESISTANCE

Lacking experience and organization in its earliest stages, the resistance movement developed and thrived through public opinion. Just as in countries outside of the Continent, we in occupied territory were not entirely convinced that the final outcome of the war lay only with the Allies. Although nearly everyone wanted to be known as an anti-Nazi, most people only sympathized with direct resistance against the occupying power from afar. Some groups, indeed, especially among the civil servants, disapproved of resistance altogether; they saw in it the danger of provoking still sterner measures against the population without any compensating advantages.

Consequently resistance was restricted for the most part to small groups of underground workers. And for this reason these pathfinders have a right to a greater and higher

degree of praise. For the part they played was not just to strengthen, under the inspiring example and courage of others, a resistance movement already strong, but, inspired only by their own courage, to cooperate in building the foundations for the coming resistance which by its universality was to develop into such an effective power. This work of pioneering generally had to be paid for with imprisonment and the concentration camp, and in many cases with death itself.

NAZI PROPAGANDA

The attitude of the Germans themselves also checked the development of the resistance movement. For, from the very beginning, the Nazi leaders intended to follow with the Dutch a procedure entirely different from that they had employed, for instance, with the French and Belgians. The explanation for this is to be found not only in military considerations, but also in ideological reasons. We were considered to be Aryans and, according to German race specialists, pure-bred Aryans. Moreover, the Nazis had apparently been misled to a great extent by their few Dutch Nazi friends about the mentality of our people. They were convinced that we could gradually be made into friends and allies. For these reasons the Germans aimed at the Nazification of our people through slower and less sensational methods. They wished us to have time to get accustomed to the Nazi way of thinking; by means of cleverly propagated ideas we should begin to feel ourselves attracted towards the sphere of Nazi interests and brought within its limits. Everything, they apparently reasoned, would follow accordingly.

This design, however, failed completely.

When the Germans became aware of this, they immediately changed their tactics. To compel us to accept and carry out the National Socialist ideas, to crush forever the now apparent powers of resistance so deeply rooted in our nation, every forcible means, both human and inhuman, was employed. But this plan also failed. Its effect was exactly the opposite of that intended. The inner resistance became more and more conscious; it grew strong enough to manifest an outward opposition. Just because the Germans had no idea of this inner opposing power in our people, they were completely unable to cope with the active and passive resistance which from now on became more and more universal, more firm in purpose, more daring and better organized.

The underground press, too, had a far-reaching influence. However, it should not be forgotten that in the first two years this press had not the wide circulation of the later years.

CATHOLIC BISHOPS SHOW THE WAY

The honor of having developed and guided the inner power of resistance of our people belongs largely and decisively to our spiritual leaders. The spiritual resistance had been the earliest and in a way the most effective, and has always reached the entire population. From the very beginning it was so obvious and daring that at once it drew general attention and admiration. And in its front line, both in the opinion of Catholics and non-Catholics alike, stood the Catholic Bishops.

Many years before the German invasion they had already condemned the National Socialist theories as un-Christian; prominent support of the Dutch Nazi movement, because of its proximate danger to faith and morals, was forbidden under penalty of being denied the Sacraments. After May, 1940, this measure of church discipline was extended; ordi-

nary membership in the movement or of any of its disguised branches was also forbidden.

Again and again attempts were made to persuade the Bishops to adopt a more accommodating attitude. I remember the case of a priest who normally would have been sent to a concentration camp, but who was released without further ado, lest impending negotiations with the Episcopate should be jeopardized.

In spite of all pressure, however, the Bishops remained steadfast in the attitude which they had adopted in the beginning. The leaders of no other religious body have been so uncompromising. By word of mouth—a report of this reached the Netherlands in 1943—His Holiness the Pope praised this firmness. In no other country, said the Pope, have the Bishops guided the faithful so clearly, so unanimously and so courageously in the battle against the errors of National Socialism.

PASTORAL LETTERS

This guidance was not given in secret, but openly in Pastoral Letters, all of which were most remarkable for their fighting spirit. Some of them were outstanding in our national life, as for example the letter of protest against the suppression of the Catholic Workers Guild; also the Pastoral Letter which again rejected National Socialism with all its consequences as being opposed to Christian principles. The conclusion of this letter was surprising, since it reiterated words written by the German Bishops in a document which reached the Netherlands through underground channels. The argument so often used by the friends of the Nazis about the discrepancy between the Dutch and German Bishops was once and for all countered when this letter was read in public.

Remarkable also was the letter of the Spring of 1943:

In every sphere Nazism attempts to extend its influence and to take the lead. Although Nazism remains the powerful master of the situation here, the spiritual powers of resistance of the overwhelming majority of the Netherlands people is unbroken. This fills us with great consolation and faith in the future. Despite all suppression of those differently minded and the bait of various material advantages, the Netherlands people will never become Nazi if we remain but loyal to our ancestral Faith.

Summing up the latest injustices, the letter referred to the forcing of men into the German war industries in these words: "The limit has been reached." It then openly pointed out that the orders of the occupying power were contrary to the Fourth Commandment, which includes patriotism. The end of the letter brands the Nazi leader's call to fight Bolshevism in defense of Christendom as a catchword and a lie.

The reading from the pulpit of these and similar letters, in which the Bishops insisted on Christian as well as national rights, meant that their message was disseminated and widely circulated among the entire population; so that the leaders of no other Church have had such far-reaching influence as the Catholic Bishops. In times of suppression it was a great joy to every Dutchman to hear injustice mentioned and condemned as such; and to hear the Christian principles of mercy, freedom of conscience and patriotism positively defended against injustice.

Reprisals generally followed a Pastoral Letter. Frequently priests or important Catholic laymen were put into prison. But the Bishops did not yield. They knew what was at stake and they knew that the fight was worth the sacrifices which it entailed. When any urgent questions touching the

interest of a great part of the people arose, or when an injustice was perpetrated so blatant that the people wanted to hear its condemnation through the voices of the Bishops, then they could be sure to hear from the pulpit, at the right moment, a word of guidance or protest. This was done not in just an anonymous protest but in a proclamation signed by the five Bishops.

DEFIANCE OF NAZI ORDERS

No less effective was the indirect guidance of the Bishops given through the Catholic clergy in interpreting and making known their mind. After the war, when details can be published, people will be astonished at the certainty and clearness of the direction given. It will show how they did not fear any difficulties and how questions were solved in mutual consultation among people and leaders and at the right moment.

To understand what we owe to our spiritual leaders, we must bear in mind the revolution which the Nazi authorities intended: the reorganization of the peasantry and the working classes; the Nazification of education and the press; the profanation of the fine arts and sport; and, as their ultimate aim, the enslavement of our whole people. These leaders proved themselves equal to their task and they did not shrink for one moment from the consequences which it involved. Priests were instructed regularly by their Bishops about newly arisen difficulties. In some dioceses written instructions were delivered by special couriers; in others they were communicated orally at the various conferences for the clergy.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

In the spring of 1943 the attitude of the Germans became more aggressive. From this time dates the regulation that our army should go into captivity, that students who would not observe the Nazi regulations laid down for the universities should be employed in Germany, that all men between 18 and 35 should report for German war work. By these measures the family life of the greater part of our population was attacked and endangered. So strong was the opposition aroused by this that it found expression in a spontaneous general strike.

On account of the violence and the consequent number of victims caused by the strike, many tried to implicate the Bishops and clergy; but they were not to be compromised. Nobody was more deeply moved than they at the sight of so many families in mourning, but at the same time nobody knew better than they the righteousness of this rising. That is why they did not take an ambiguous position, they considered it none of their business to interfere in the strike. There were very many victims, but still we could not omit in the history of our resistance this bitter protest against the great injustice done to us. It stimulated thousands and thousands of people to resistance.

The outward opposition of the Netherlands to the Nazis, which has now become a resistance of nearly the entire population, did not originate in a desire for sensation or adventure, nor in the fact that the Dutch had a revolutionary nature; but it grew out of a Christian conception of life and the conviction that men have the right to live according to that conception in a free and independent national existence. That the people have become conscious of that right and have realized the necessity of sacrificing all to maintain it is due in a very large part to the initial and uninterrupted guidance which they have received during the years of occupation from their courageous and uncompromising spiritual leaders.

EDUCATION AND THE POSTWAR WORLD

JOHN PICK

THE possibility of another "lost generation" is a challenge to every college in the country. It is a matter of social and intellectual history that the generation that survived World War I could not effectively meet the problems that confronted it. Once more the responsibility of education, and especially of Catholic education, is tremendous.

The Government is contemplating vast programs for the rehabilitation and reorientation of the youth of the country who will return from the war. Now is the time carefully to consider the role of education in the formation of the society that we wish to see grow out of the conflict in which we are now engaged.

Technical aptitudes and vocational skills will not be enough to mold a way of life and a world in which it will be good to live. Not too often can it be affirmed that it is not by bread alone that man can live. Blindness to this simple truth can result only in futility.

Especially needed will be those ideals, those spiritual values, those sources of energy which mere materialism and mere utilitarianism can never give.

And among the most potent wellsprings and defenses of those values and ideals, of the fundamental dignity of man, are the liberal arts rightly conceived. Fundamentally, the liberally educated mind, disciplined by the study of the greatness of man's attainments, has been "freed" from error, from prejudice, from the bondage of caprice, from slavery to the passions. Such a mind has become a perfected instrument for dealing wisely and dispassionately with the problems which it must face. Liberal education aims, as Cardinal Newman said in a classic passage:

... at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life ... It prepares ... to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility.

It is a travesty for which only the materialism of the modern world can be responsible to say that the objectives, the values, the disciplines of the liberally educated man are not practical. For those are ultimately the elements of the vigorous and clear-sighted leadership needed for the shaping of a world worthy of the spiritual integrity of man—of a world which is like unto the Kingdom of God. Any other utilitarianism can result only in a Brave New World, a kingdom of Mammon.

And ideally the fullness of the liberal-arts tradition is to be found in Catholic education alone, because it alone makes theology and religion the vital forces in its entire curriculum. Anything less is partial, incomplete.

Not that the perfection of Catholic education is easily attainable, especially in an environment which is antipathetic to the spiritual. By its very nature Catholic education is a profoundly difficult synthesis. Certainly it is not merely a series of courses with philosophy and religion added to its curriculum. Certainly it is not merely pietism, chapels and sodalities present on the same campus with the standard departments of instruction.

Indeed, it is perhaps redundant and repetitious to use at all the term "Catholic" education, for education which is

really education includes the scope of all truth, material and spiritual, of this world and of another world. This implies not only the deepest respect for and cultivation of secular learning and scholarship, but that the vital and informing principle of the entire college will be an integral Christian humanism.

What is needed is not merely a reaffirmation of the validity of liberal education as an abstract system, but its revivification as a living organism. The electivism and dilettantism which have sapped its strength in these later years must be cast aside.

There is always the danger of doing lip service to a tradition which was once great. It is, indeed, one of the phenomena of this contemporary world that philosophy has come to mean a set of theories rather than a way of life, and that thinking and living have become so departmentalized that education is one thing, the world of affairs another, religion is one thing, business or politics another. It has meant that liberal education has come to be conceived as a mere ornament having no bearing on the practical problems of life and living.

This split between what is communicated in the humanities and the world in which man lives is encouraged by that callow intellectualism by which we simplify truth to the extent that it bears little relation to the many-faceted social, political, economic and artistic phenomena of the present or of the past. As a result, the students step out of the "liberal arts" college to find themselves surrounded by complexities which they cannot face. We must, of course, be firmly grounded in the principles of the *philosophia perennis*—but it is also highly important that we understand the variety, the historical development, the ever-changing nuances of the spirit of man and its expression. To "dismiss" with a mere syllogism too often means that we have failed to understand the intricacies of philosophical or social systems. This is not to deny that their errors must be rejected and refuted. But it does mean that we are often too ready to deny their contributions. It has meant shoddy scholarship in the sense that we consider it unnecessary to examine and evaluate, that too often we "label" rather than weigh.

This has encouraged the rift between liberal education and the concrete problems of living in the world of today. It has meant the sterility of the liberal college. It has resulted in a distrust of liberal education on the part even of the students themselves.

Undoubtedly it is not the function of the humanities as such to prepare for living in the modern world. Rather, their function is formative and disciplinary and in this latter sense they are inexorably "useful" and utilitarian. Colleges devoted almost exclusively to courses in contemporary sociology or politics inevitably fail to give their students the basic disciplines and a sense of the traditions upon which western civilization is based. And without these things no finer and better world can be built.

But Catholic education—which has fought valiantly for the liberal-arts tradition—must lead in a realistically idealistic and an idealistically realistic reassertion of the liberal arts as the shaping power in a redeemed world, a new organic Christian society which must emerge from the welter and chaos which now surrounds man.

The challenge is before us: the postwar world will critically need the ideals, the values, the vision, the leadership which technology alone can never give and which Catholic colleges can give. Unless we plan to give the youth returning from the front more than a handful of bread, our society is doomed to a failure which will make the greatest of victories empty, vacuous.

KOREMATSU VS. THE UNITED STATES

CHARLES KEENAN

TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU is an American citizen who was a resident of San Leandro, California, during the months after Pearl Harbor.

On March 27, 1942, he found himself "frozen" by an order of General DeWitt, of the Western Command, forbidding him, and all other persons of Japanese ancestry, to leave Military Area No. 1, in which San Leandro is situated, "until and to the extent that a future proclamation or order should so permit or direct."

On May 3, 1942, the "future order" came, ordering him to leave the Area by May 9.

Korematsu, however, and the thousands of others affected by this order, could not simply pack up and leave. They must repair to an "Assembly Center," there to await the disposition of the military authorities.

Korematsu stayed at home; was found in the Area after May 9, tried under the Act of Congress which punished violations of the military orders, given a suspended sentence and forwarded to the Assembly Center and to a Relocation Center. On appeal, his case found its way in due course to the Supreme Court of the United States.

DISSENTING OPINIONS

The Court on December 18, 1944, upheld the conviction, Justices Roberts, Murphy and Jackson dissenting.

In a previous case—that of Kiyoshi Hirabayashi, convicted of violating a curfew order—the Act of Congress of March 21, 1942, under which the military were acting, had been attacked as unconstitutional, but had been sustained. In the light of that decision, said the Court,

... we are unable to conclude that it was beyond the war power of Congress and the Executive to exclude those of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast war area at the time they did. True, exclusion from the area in which one's home is located is a far greater deprivation than confinement to the home from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. Nothing short of apprehension by the proper military authorities of the gravest imminent danger to the public safety can constitutionally justify either.

To the objection that in May, 1942, all danger of Japanese invasion of the West Coast had disappeared, the Court answered:

It was because we could not reject the finding of the military authorities that it was impossible to bring about an immediate segregation of the disloyal from the loyal that we sustained the validity of the curfew order as applying to the whole group. In the instant case, temporary exclusion of the whole group was rested on the same ground.

Dealing, finally, with the allegation that the exclusion order constituted racial discrimination, the Court stated:

Korematsu was not excluded from the military area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire, because the properly constituted military authorities feared an invasion of our West Coast and felt constrained to take proper security measures. . . .

The conviction, therefore, stood affirmed.

To Mr. Justice Murphy the exclusion order went "over the very brink of constitutional power," and fell "into the ugly abyss of racism." In dealing with the prosecution and

progress of a war, he admitted, "we must accord great respect and consideration to the judgments of the military authorities.

At the same time, however, it is essential that there be definite limits to military discretion, especially where martial law has not been declared. Individuals must not be left impoverished of their constitutional rights on a plea of military necessity that has neither substance nor support.

And in the rest of his opinion he develops at length the thesis that the necessity alleged by General DeWitt had "neither substance nor support."

THE RACIAL ISSUE

The exclusion, in his mind, was motivated by "erroneous assumption of racial guilt rather than *bona fide* military necessity." Speaking of the General's Final Report on the evacuation, Justice Murphy says:

In it he refers to all individuals of Japanese descent as "subversive," as belonging to "an enemy race" whose "racial strains are undiluted," and as constituting "over 112,000 potential enemies . . . at large today" along the Pacific Coast. . . .

Justification for the exclusion is sought . . . mainly upon questionable racial and sociological grounds, not ordinarily within the realm of expert military judgment, supplemented by certain semi-military conclusions drawn from an unwarranted use of circumstantial evidence.

MR. JUSTICE JACKSON

Mr. Justice Jackson's dissent went farther than that of his brethren. Korematsu, he pointed out, was convicted for an act not commonly a crime—staying peaceably in the place of his usual residence. There was no suggestion that he was not otherwise a well-disposed and law-abiding citizen. This act, moreover, became a crime in his case only because of his ancestry; a German or Italian alien enemy living next door would be committing no illegal act.

If Congress, said the Justice, should attempt in time of peace to make such an act a crime on the grounds of ancestry, the Court would refuse to enforce it.

But the "law" which this prisoner is convicted of disregarding is not found in an Act of Congress, but in a military order. . . . It rests on the orders of General DeWitt. And it is said that if the military commander had reasonable military grounds for promulgating the orders, they are constitutional and become law and the Court is required to enforce them. There are several reasons why I cannot subscribe to this doctrine.

His exposition of those reasons leads him into an interesting discussion of the relation of the Court to the acts of the military authorities.

The task of the military authority is "to protect a society, not merely its Constitution," and when it is called in for that task "the paramount consideration is that its measures be successful, rather than legal." (This dictum of the Justice may sound rather shocking. But it must be remembered that war imposes hard choices; and often enough allows only the choice of the lesser evil. If, by observing strict peacetime legality, the armed forces fail in their task, not merely one law but the whole legal structure and the Constitution itself fail with them.) Therefore "it would be impractical and dangerous idealism to expect or insist that each specific military command in an area of probable operations will conform to conventional tests of constitutionality." The commander, even to be "reasonable" must at times act with what would normally be unreasonable and exacting caution.

But, continues Mr. Jackson, even if such acts are permissible to military procedure,

I deny that it follows that they are constitutional. If, as the Court holds, it does follow, then we may as well say that any military order will be constitutional and be done with it.

And for a very simple reason. The Court is practically obliged to take the military authority's word for the reasonableness of the acts. War conditions do not usually allow of a revelation in court of the conditions provoking the acts or of the sources of information they are based on. "Hence courts can never have any real alternative to accepting the mere declaration of the authority that issued the order that it was reasonably necessary from a military standpoint." "Of course," he admits,

the existence of a military power resting on force, so vagrant, so centralized, so necessarily heedless of the individual, is an inherent threat to liberty. But I would not lead people to rely on this Court for a review that seems to me wholly delusive.

The real safeguard, he insists, against the possible despotism of the military authorities "in the future as in the past, must be their responsibility to the political judgment of their contemporaries and to the moral judgment of history."

RATIONALIZING THE CONSTITUTION

A far greater danger to liberty, in Justice Jackson's view, lies in the majority opinion of the Court, from which he is dissenting:

A military order, however unconstitutional, is not apt to last longer than the military emergency. . . . But once a judicial opinion rationalizes such an order to show that it conforms to the Constitution, or rather rationalizes the Constitution to show that it sanctions such an order, the Court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure and of transplanting American citizens. The principle then lies about, like a loaded weapon, ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forth a plausible claim to an urgent need.

Moreover, he added, the principle would not remain sterile; ". . . it has a generative power of its own, and all that it creates will be in its own image."

The majority decision, to his mind, gave startling proof of this. In the *Hirabayashi* case, the Court had sanctioned the curfew upon Japanese-Americans, saying explicitly:

We decide the issue only as we have defined it—we decide only that the curfew order as applied and at the time that it was applied, was within the boundaries of the war power. . . .

It is unnecessary to consider whether or to what extent such findings would support orders differing from the curfew order.

In spite of these limiting words, said Mr. Jackson, the principle of racial discrimination had been admitted. And now it was being invoked to support the present decision:

The Court is saying that in *Hirabayashi* we did decide the very things we there said we were not deciding. Because we said that these citizens could be made to stay in their homes during the hours of dark, it is said we must require them to leave home entirely; and if that, we are told they may also be taken into custody for deportation. . . . How far the principle of this case would be extended before plausible reasons would play out, I do not know. . . .

If Mr. Justice Jackson is right, the name of Korematsu may be as well known in America as that of Dred Scott.

WALLACE AND JONES

ABOUT President Roosevelt's appointment of Henry A. Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce, three things present themselves for discussion—the man whom he appointed, the job he appointed him to, and the manner of the appointment itself.

To begin with the last, there is no doubt that the publication of the letter to Jesse Jones and Jones' reply were a shock and a cause of consternation even to many of the President's supporters, and a ready-made weapon for his enemies. It is nothing particularly new in American politics that the Executive should reward his friends with political posts. It has been accepted practice, and the people have usually asked only that the appointees should be men fit for their jobs. But it is rare to find so explicit a canonization of the principle by the Chief Magistrate; and it leaves a bad taste in the public mouth. The Senate might readily refuse to confirm such an appointment. One wonders if Mr. Roosevelt, who dismissed Mr. Wallace from the Board of Economic Warfare after his quarrel with Mr. Jones and later rejected him as Vice-President, meant it that way.

The fight has begun, and will certainly wax hot, over the personality of the new appointee and the job he looks to have. As it stands, the Secretariate of Commerce has been augmented by the addition of the vast responsibilities and powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries until, as Senator Bailey suggested, it might even be able "to determine the economic direction of the country and affect its whole social and political structure." Orthodox businessmen cannot but fear the appointment to such a position of the man from whom they have heard so many hard words—even the word Fascism—during the past year or so. And those who think that business orthodoxy is often social heresy will hail the appointment of Mr. Wallace with delight.

In these circumstances, Senator George's proposal will find strong backing. He wishes to separate the vast powers of RFC from the Commerce post—where they were placed as an emergency measure—and give them to an independent agency directly responsible to Congress. Whether this is, as Wallace's friends insist, merely a move to block the former Vice-President or, as the Senator insists, a move which should be made no matter who is Secretary of Commerce, it is a suggestion well worth considering. Especially in view of Mr. Jones' assertion that the combined posts call for so much work that "I do not believe there is another fellow in the world who will do it except me."

One striking anomaly of the present tie-up came out in Mr. Jones' testimony before the Senate Committee, when he said that the RFC, though incomparably the vastest financing agency of the Government, did not have regular audits by the Controller General. That, at least, calls for remedy.

Adverse critics of Mr. Wallace were willing to concede his complete honesty and integrity, but stressed his alleged lack of experience, as contrasted with that of Mr. Jones, both in dealing with businessmen and Congressmen. Mr. Jones admitted that Mr. Wallace had, indeed, successfully run the Commodity Credit Corporation, involving billions of dollars in loans and thousands of employees; though he attributed the success chiefly to the policies laid down by Congress.

But the conflict goes much deeper than Wallace *vs.* Jones or Executive *vs.* Congress; it is a struggle for power, and one that deeply touches the very heart of our national life and our system of government. On the extreme left are the

out-and-out collectivists, who will back any move that seems to swing the national economy in their direction. On the extreme right are the unconverted devotees of *laissez-faire*—let the Government keep its hands off business—who do not realize that they are headed for collectivism, only by the route of the boom-bust cycle. And the danger is that the natural reaction from the open collectivism of the Left may swing the country into collectivism from the Right.

The question, to quote Mr. Wallace's statement before the Senate Commerce Committee, "is not any petty question of personalities." Regardless of who heads the Commerce Department or the RFC, the real issue, he says,

... is whether or not the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its giant subsidiaries are to be used only to help big business, or whether these powers are to be also used to help little business and to help carry out the President's commitment of 60,000,000 jobs.

It would be most unfortunate if political or personal rancors were allowed to obscure the real nature of the choice that lies between the President and the Senate. It is a choice that should transcend private and political feuds.

WORK OR FIGHT BILL

NOTHING that has occurred since the House Military Affairs Committee began hearings on the May-Bailey "limited national service" bill weakens in any way the position assumed in these columns two weeks ago. We maintained then, and we continue to maintain, that a national service act, whether limited or unlimited, is neither a necessary nor a desirable means to achieve the end sought for, namely, the efficient use of the nation's manpower.

As the hearings developed, it has become clearer than ever that the demand for a national service act emanates almost exclusively from Army and Navy sources. Spokesmen for industry and organized labor, without a dissenting voice, united to oppose the bill. They pointed out that no general shortage of manpower exists; that in the few instances where war-production schedules are lagging because of manpower deficiencies, the situation could be and should be remedied on a local basis; that greater efficiency might be achieved by more intelligent procurement policies, better use of the existing work force and a willingness to abandon discriminatory practices which are wasting the skills of thousands of colored Americans.

This opposition to the May-Bailey bill received powerful support from the Senate (Mead) Committee to investigate the war effort. Reporting to the Senate on January 23, Senator Mead said that a surprise visit to the Norfolk Navy Yard revealed "excess manpower, wasted labor and enforced loafing" to a degree "deeply disturbing and most significant." The Senator said:

Each of the members of our subcommittee personally saw idleness and loafing on a big scale. Men stood and sat around in groups smoking and talking right on the decks of vital fighting ships. Their bosses were not to be seen. The men themselves think there are too many of them on the job. They say they are unable to do an honest day's work.

And that Navy Yard is supposed to be short 4,000 men for essential programs!

In view of the opposition of labor and management and the investigations of the Mead Committee, it is very unlikely that Congress will pass the May-Bailey bill. The conviction is growing that it is the duty of the Armed Services to tell the Government what men and materials are needed to conquer our enemies, not to furnish the men and produce the materials. This is the responsibility of Government, assisted by labor and management. The May-Bailey bill would confuse this traditional division of authority. It would give to the Armed Services a degree of control over the domestic economy for which they are poorly prepared. It would not help war production. And it might endanger our cherished tradition of civilian supremacy, together with all the democratic liberties and advantages which that supremacy implies.

A REMINDER FOR CONGRESS

THE RESOLUTION introduced into the House of Representatives by three Congressmen, one a Catholic, the other a Protestant and the third a Jew, is a timely reminder to our legislators of the high moral aims which this nation should pursue in its foreign policy. The resolution calls upon the Congress to accept certain principles as the basis for the establishment of peace and a just world order. These principles are embodied in the seven points of the statement released a year and a half ago and signed by representative Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders, and known familiarly as the *Pattern for Peace*.

"I want to emphasize," said Congressman Charles La Follette, of Indiana, the Protestant member of the group, "that the seven proposals of our resolution are invested with much higher authority than that which our sponsorship confers upon them." These seven points were, in fact, but a briefer recapitulation of the principles on which all the major religious groups of this country were agreed. It was a striking instrument to show an impressive unanimity among groups otherwise sharply divided.

The *Pattern for Peace*, in its insistence on moral law and the Sovereignty of God and the common need of all nations to unite in world collaboration, provides salutary guidance to Congress in an hour deeply obscured by rising suspicion and tension among the United Nations. It is a reminder to Congress and the nation that the religious-minded folk of this land are very much concerned with the moral responsibility resting upon us in our future dealings with the rest of the world.

This expressed concern has evoked the call of our State Department for all religious forces to discuss the proposals for a world security organization outlined at Dumbarton Oaks. In effect our Government has taken up the challenge raised by the *Pattern for Peace* and put the responsibility back upon its authors. It is a matter of satisfaction that the religious groups represented in this document are proving true to the chances offered them as evidenced in recent separate pronouncements by responsible Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders.

By introducing their resolution, Congressmen Charles M. LaFollette, of Indiana, Michael A. Feighan, of Ohio, and Samuel A. Weiss of Pennsylvania, have put Congress upon its mettle by calling to its attention the deep and abiding concern of all church groups for a peace worthy of the name.

"CHRIST HELPS CHRIST"

NEAR THE END of his Encyclical *Corpus Mystici*, His Holiness Pope Pius XII wrote:

In this gravest of hours, Venerable Brothers, when bodies are racked with pain and souls with grief, every man must rise to this supernatural charity, so that by the combined efforts of all good men—We have in mind especially those who are active in any kind of relief organization—the gigantic needs of mankind, spiritual and corporal, may be alleviated. Let pity and mercy try to outdo themselves. Thus the devoted generosity, the inexhaustible resourcefulness of the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ are seen in the beauty of their perfection in every quarter of the globe.

War Relief Services-National Catholic Welfare Conference has just concluded an arrangement which furnishes a striking instance of this "devoted generosity" and "inexhaustible resourcefulness" of the Mystical Body of Christ.

Through the generosity of American Catholics it has been able to gather and is now preparing for shipment huge stores of food, clothing and medical supplies for the destitute of France. By an ideal arrangement, possible only within the Catholic Church, it finds ready to hand a long-established and complete welfare organization for the distribution of these goods. The Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in France have placed their entire personnel of 7,000 experienced welfare workers and their elaborate set-up of 800 well equipped relief centers at the disposal of the American Catholic relief agency.

From the point of view of efficient organization, it is hard to see how this arrangement could be surpassed. For generations the Sisters of Charity have been working almost exclusively among the poor in France. During that time they have acquired hospitals, schools, clinics, homes for the aged and orphanages. These institutions in nearly every case are in the poorest and most needy centers of France. In them the Sisters have extended their aid to persons of every race, creed and political affiliation. Thus they provide a network of arteries and channels reaching to every section of France and its most afflicted citizens. Flowing through these channels, and regulated by 7,000 unsalaried religious women who combine with the supernatural charity of Christ a long tradition in welfare work, American generosity is assured of the widest and most efficient distribution where it will do the most good with the least waste.

Many beautiful things have been said and written down through the centuries to explain the New Testament doctrine of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. His Holiness has gathered up and incorporated the best of them in the Encyclical quoted above. War Relief Services-N.C.W.C. and the Sisters of Charity of France are now giving us a new illustration of that doctrine, not in words but in the much more eloquent language of cooperative action.

They are manifesting in a striking way the organic unity which binds all the members of that Body together. The healthy members respond with immediate and generous aid to the call of the stricken member. On the one hand the wells of French charity, exhausted by war, are replenished from the reservoirs of American generosity. On the other, the French Sisters provide a type of service that money could not buy. Such unity and cooperation in external activity can only be the outgrowth of internal, spiritual unity. It presupposes the unity of one Faith, one obedience, one Baptism of those who are all "baptized into one Body."

LITERATURE AND ART

HIS WAS "INSPECT"

WILLIAM L. MORAN

EIGHT YEARS AGO there died a man who once wrote this most excellent of his many excellent sayings: "Heaven does not work; it plays." If it were only for these two short phrases, and it were mine to do, I would carve his name deep in the minds of all men to come. I would have them go to him for the light of hope when their minds, like the modern mind, become bleared and sad with despair. I would have them kneel at the shrine of his memory and murmur these two short phrases for the sustenance and joy of their souls, naming, as they do, the secret of happiness and the essential thought of Christ: "Unless you become as little children. . . ." I would make him a classic.

But it is not mine to do. It is Time's, that solemn judge of fame merited. Time alone will decide whether G. K. Chesterton has achieved a lasting place in English thought and letters, or has been a short-lived but powerful influence in his brief span of years. However time may judge, there is no uncertainty as to the power that has been G. K.'s to wield the last forty years or so. He, with his mate of battle, Belloc, has given a new cast of thought to Catholic letters and scholarship. With the coming of G. B. Shaw's monster, the Chester-Belloc, the days of kowtowing, the season for half-suppressed apologies, ended for Catholic writers. In swift succession the myths of biased history are being shattered by Catholic research and confident loud assertion. For this Belloc has labored mightily. The Catholic philosophy of life is, in all its fulness and beauty, held up against the tawdry sensism of modern materialism. This is the specific influence of Chesterton.

For if we take Chesterton's more than hundred volumes in all their complexity, they had one aim: to show the world the power of Christianity to satisfy the essential cravings of man, and by contrast to indicate the despair, the sense of frustration that must of necessity stab the inmost heart of those who, worshipping the flesh, would slay the undying spirit. And within the limitations set to all human success, Chesterton has succeeded, not only in his own work, but in the work of others in which we can see his influence.

But that Chesterton did succeed is, in a sense, an enigma. His power is out of all proportion with the quality of his style (a few great poems and masterly essays excepted) and with the depth of his learning. Chesterton was not a stylist. That at times he wrote good prose is true, but seldom did he display a great prose, a prose of subtle rhythms which evoke the memory of the masters, of beautiful cadences which enchant and capture the mind. His verse, irrespective of subject, maintains a grandeur which occasionally can hardly escape being branded turgid. Of learning with the dust on it he had none. His reading was wide but not scholarly. He was educated in the true sense of the word, but not learned, in any sense of the word.

Whence then his power? It is the mystery of Chesterton—a mystery, I believe, capable of one solution. Chesterton's power is explained only by what we shall call his gift of intuition.

Intuition is an elastic word, and is stretched to mean a wife's presentiment that her husband will be late for dinner, as well as to name the essence of mystical contemplation. When, however, I say intuition is the secret of Chesterton,

I mean this: that by a special grace of his mind, Chesterton shot to the core of things. With an immediate penetrating insight he saw a vast general principle at work where we, of lesser vision, see a series of relatively unconnected events.

For instance, there is Chesterton's sense of wonder at the muddiness of mud and the soapiness of soap. A person unfamiliar with Chesterton might suspect him of striking a pose, or of affecting a bizarre, pseudo-poetical insight. But read Chesterton, and you see it is of the very essence of his mind to pierce through the shell of accidents, and to grasp the very marrow of reality. He cannot write without condensing the faint misty ideas most men work with, into one clear startling concept.

How often do these blinding flashes of thought light up a page of Chesterton. They are the quintessence of an essay or of a poem. In this his essays and poems so often resemble his sketches. Like the one strange figure that dominates a Chestertonian sketch and before all else—almost alone—strikes the eye, one flame of thought sears its way into the reader's mind. This thought is the essay; it is the poem. Then as if in deference to convention, Chesterton elaborates this thought, applies it, plays with it. The result is that so much of Chesterton's work seems to grow dim and blurred, and finally disappears into nowhere—in this again how like the sketches, so fuzzy and uncertain at their edges. Seeing the grotesque figure, you have seen the sketch. Feeling the thought of Chesterton leap like a fire enkindled into your mind, you have read the essay.

In every essay intuition throws out its light, then merges into the dimmer glow of inference and example and judgment. But perhaps the intuition most startling in its penetration and most characteristic in that it sums up not an essay, but an entire book, comes when Chesterton speaks of modern thought and says: "Everything matters—except everything." With a brief paradox he lays bare the inanity of Pragmatism which is today the world's great intellectual sickness. Everything matters—except everything: the pragmatic spirit plunges deeper and deeper into less and less. It is trapped together with a few elements in a test-tube. It cannot see, at least not admit, the mighty cosmos outside. It hates the mind, because it hates speculation and the universal principles it conceives.

For Chesterton, gifted with a special sense of an all-environmenting order, with a vision of universal principles, with a love for men which was as large as himself, there could be for Pragmatism, if not for Pragmatists, but a burning contempt. And yet he would not merely condemn. He was too exuberantly vital, too powerful a mind to be content only to destroy. If he would declare his hates, he would also declare his loves. If he would diagnose the world's sickness as Pragmatism, he would prescribe the world's medicine. His love, this medicine, was Christianity, was Christ.

"Drink," he [the modern] says, "for you know not whence you come nor why. Drink, for you know not when you go nor where. Drink, because the stars are cruel, and the world as idle as a humming-top. Drink, because there is nothing worth trusting, nothing worth fighting for. Drink, because all things are lapsed in a base equality and an evil peace." So he stands offering us the cup in his hand. And at the high altar of Christianity stands another figure, in whose hand also is the cup of the vine. "Drink," he says, "for the

whole world is as red as this wine, with the crimson of the love and the wrath of God. Drink, for the trumpets are blowing for battle and this is the stirrup-cup. Drink, for this is my blood of the New Testament that is shed for you. Drink, for I know of whence you come and why. Drink, for I know of when you go and where."

It is these swift flashes of truth in such passages as this, almost ecstatic in their brilliance and fervor, which are, I am sure, the source of Chesterton's power to challenge and shock and capture minds. Because his was never an aspect of a man or a situation or a principle but an "inspect"—an intuitive, piercing vision—he grasped the cosmos to himself, then gave to it men. As Belloc says, "he made men see what they had not seen before. He made them know."

Intuition is, then, the secret of G. K.'s enigmatic power and, we may add, the solution of the many lesser enigmas which are wrapped about his person and intimately connected with his present influence and probably with his future place in English letters.

First, intuition explains the Chestertonian penchant—virtue or vice?—for paradox. Maisie Ward is of the opinion that Chesterton employed paradox chiefly to shock the jaded modern mind into some realization of the truths he was announcing. But I believe that while this is partly true, there is a more fundamental explanation. After all, reality itself is a paradox. Our existence is a paradox. In a paradox philosophy found its genesis and its lasting torture. Everything created, with its flux and its permanence, is a paradox. This Chesterton saw and, communicating his vision, if he would be true to it, he had to speak in paradox. For instance, when Chesterton writes, "He [Wells] must surely see that the fact of two things being different implies that they are similar," some may call this a paradox. It is rather metaphysics.

Then there is Chesterton's genius for what Belloc calls parallelism. "Parallelism consists in the illustration of an unperceived truth by its exact consonance with the reflection of a truth already known and perceived. . . . Whenever Chesterton begins a sentence with 'It is as though' (in exploding a bit of false reasoning), you may expect a stroke of parallelism as vivid as a lightning flash." Obviously the "parallelistic" mind is the intuitive mind. It is blind to hackneyed connotation; it sees what this is, and what that is. Then comes the shock of an "It is as though."

Finally, intuition explains Chesterton's weakness as well as his greatness. Certainly the great weakness of his work is that it is linked, perhaps inseparably, to a chain of passing circumstances. It is not that his thought was provincial; few men's thought has been more universal. His intuitions were, of necessity, intuitions of the eternal, the necessary, the immutable: the perduring facts of all reality. But he saw more: he saw modern man—you and me. And so with a gigantic humility he did not abandon himself to the flame of his intuition. He did not so fill his writings with those eternal words which burned in his mind that he never touched your problem or mine. He did not look to an immortal G. K. C. He looked to modern errors and their exponents. So he hurled the flame of his intuition at Shaw, at Wells, at all present fallacies. That for all unprejudiced minds he reduced them to ashes we know, but can we not fear that in these ashes died also the flame?

This it is for another generation to know. For ours it is to listen to Chesterton, to behold and to understand his vision. For he, too, knew of whence we come and why, of when we go and where.

BOOKS

A GREAT NOVELIST'S THOUGHT

BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH. By Franz Werfel.

Philosophical Library, N. Y. \$3

THE GROUND which the author of *The Song of Bernadette* traverses in this book has been covered before. Other writers have diagnosed the evil which afflicts the modern world as a loss of the traditional faith. They have pointed out the illusory character of the various substitutes proposed and have prescribed a return to God and religion as the only effective remedy. What makes the distinctive quality of this book is its tone of evangelical earnestness. For it is a personal record of the author's own spiritual experience. Mr. Werfel was himself a victim of the same malady. He knows the misery it inflicts. He tried successive unavailing cures. He found at last an effective remedy in God. Consequently he has the zeal of an evangelist in his desire to spread his good news.

The book is divided into two parts, very different in outward literary form but united in their content. The first part consists of three essays, *Of Man's True Happiness, Realism and Inwardness, Can We Live Without Faith in God?* The second part is made up of a series of *Theologumena*, i.e., detached observations on some central theological theme, such as "The Incarnation," "Sin," "Christ and Israel," etc.

The heart of Mr. Werfel's gospel is contained in the third essay of the first part. In order to catch the flavor and to experience the full power of this essay, it is important to remember that it was originally prepared as a lecture to be delivered to German audiences in 1932, before Hitler had come to power. At that time Communism and Nazism were rival forces contending for the mastery of German youth. The author visualized an audience made up of those who had lost their faith and, as a result, found their lives empty and meaningless. To such a group Communism on the one hand and Nazism on the other made a powerful appeal. Each promised not only material benefits but also an idealism which would restore meaning and purpose to life and, along with them, enthusiasm and zest for living. To these audiences the author went as a crusader, a special pleader. He wished to persuade them that in neither one nor the other would they find the good they longed for. He would show them that they were but specious remedies, attractive and promising on the surface, but in reality harmful poisons which could only result in worse evils than the ones they claimed to cure.

Read as a plea directed orally to such an audience and aimed at their specific needs, the book makes an impressive case. Taken as a whole, it presents a complete, closely-knit and powerfully reasoned plea which carries through in a series of orderly steps all the way from the emptiness of agnosticism to the satisfying fulness of solid and deep religious faith.

Although written in 1932 for German audiences and adapted to their mentality at that time, the book has a message and a warning that are valid for many in the United States today, the more so inasmuch as the author's arguments have been powerfully reinforced by the events of the last few years. There are plenty in our midst who are suffering from "Naturalistic Nihilism." As a result of our secularized education it is a disease which has become epidemic amongst us. And its victims, now as always, are erecting idols and seeking an object of worship. If Nazism has no appeal for them, Communism has and so have state-worship and the belief in the redemptive power of scientific progress. They would be immensely benefited by a thoughtful reading of this profound and deeply moving book. It would convince them that the conflict is not between "Right and Left" but between, as the author contends, "Above and Below."

With regard to the "Theologumena" in the second part of the book, a distinction is necessary. As long as the author remains on the ground common to Judaism and Christianity, one experiences no difficulty. On the contrary, he will find himself arrested again and again by observations on theological truths which are startling in their depth and originality. But when the author moves over to the ground

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that is exclusively Christian, the theologian will find himself compelled to disagree at times, at other times confused, more perhaps by the language than by the thought. On the deepest and most difficult truths of their Faith, Catholics have been taught to think in patterns created for them by the great theologians and to speak in terms that have been sharpened to a fine accuracy and sanctioned by ecclesiastical usage. The absence of these patterns and terminology will occasionally leave the Catholic reader uneasy and confused. One feels that the author is moving through a difficult and complicated terrain without benefit of guide. **LOUIS E. SULLIVAN**

PROBLEM OF ONE "MINORITY"

THE UKRAINE: A SUBMERGED NATION. By William
Henry Chamberlin. The Macmillan Co. \$1.75

THE UKRAINIANS, says William Henry Chamberlin, are the most numerous people in Europe without a sovereign-state form of organization. There are well over forty million Ukrainians in the world: over thirty-two million in the pre-war Soviet Union, from five to six million in Poland, a million and a half or two million in other sections of eastern Europe. There are also about a million in the United States, between three hundred and four hundred thousand in Canada and a smaller number in South America. The Ukrainians enjoy a distinctive language, culture, historical tradition, a rich and original folklore. In the past, says Chamberlin, the Ukrainian people have demonstrated their vitality and will to live.

The Ukrainian people have grievances against the Russians and against the Poles. Of all the many blots against the Soviet Union few are more terrible than the mass murder of the Ukrainian people. The number of deaths in the Ukraine in the terrible winter and spring of 1932-33 must have been over three million. "There has perhaps been no disaster of comparable magnitude that received so little international attention." Moscow officialdom denied brazenly there had been any starvation, but a few correspondents were inclined to risk difficulties by ascertaining the truth. Mr. Chamberlin speaks from personal observation: the result of systematic inquiries in widely separated regions. What had happened, he said, was not hardship or privation or distress or food shortage, to cite the deceptive words that were allowed to pass the Soviet censorship, but pure and simple, outright slaughter.

Mr. Chamberlin makes no attempt to minimize the difficulties the Ukrainians experienced with the Poles. The Polish Government appears to have pursued a short-sighted nationalistic policy in their regard. There were vexing restrictions with regard to education and religion, and many instances of harsh conduct. He gives the full bill of complaints on page 68: underestimation of their population; denial of cultural advantages; estates broken up and distributed to the Poles; censorship of the press; legal justice broken down; groundless arrests. Yet even all that was not comparable to the unspeakable mass persecution imposed by the Russians.

What can be done? Chamberlin points out that the problem of this particular submerged nation is that of all the other submerged groups in Europe and probably other parts of the world. The two tragic episodes in recent Ukrainian history—the liquidation of the Kulaks and the famine of 1932 to 1933—simply could not have occurred in a country where elections were free. World-wide democratic principles, genuine autonomy, in his opinion, would be "a hopeful formula not only for the Soviet Union but the whole of Europe."

If the tormented old continent is to recover from the fearful shocks of the present war, a wide application of the federal principle seems essential. One can easily think of European regions—the Balkans, for instance, and Scandinavia—where federation seems natural and logical. If there is ever to be a United States of Europe it will probably take the form of an association of federations.

Not only for the good of the Ukrainians but for the good of the Polish case, for the good of Russia, for the good of the world, the Ukrainian problem should be settled, he notes:

The Polish case for an unconditional restoration of the

1939 eastern frontier would have been strengthened if the Polish Government-in-Exile had issued a specific plan for reorganizing the administrative organization of Poland along federal lines, with wide self-government for regions in which there are Ukrainian and White Russian majorities.

Chamberlin's unpretentious little book carries weight, coming as it does from an impartial and fearless critic of the Soviets, a true friend of Poland and a universally recognized objective and factual reporter. It may well be that a progressive and well-thought-out emergence of this submerged nation (or, as Mr. Chamberlin says, a free Ukraine) "no longer subject to political dictation from Moscow, united with other peoples of the Soviet Union only by voluntary bonds of mutual economic interest, is an indispensable element in a free Europe and in a free world."

JOHN LAFARGE

BIG THREE PRESSURE GROUPS

DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE. By Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. \$1

THIS IS THE FOURTH report on postwar questions, in a projected series of six, which Stuart Chase has been commissioned to prepare for the Twentieth Century Fund. To those who have read the first three studies: *The Road We are Traveling: 1914-1942*, *Goals for America: a Budget of Our Needs and Resources* and *Where's the Money Coming From?* it will be unnecessary to say that *Democracy under Pressure* deserves a prominent spot on your shelf of postwar literature. Mr. Chase's admirable ability to simplify the socio-economic problems of the age and make them intelligible and vital to the average reader, is again happily in evidence, as is his flair for the apt metaphor and a felicitous turn of phrase.

In *Where's the Money Coming From?* the author championed a fiscal policy the merits of which were, and might well be, a matter of dispute. But on the thesis of this book—that Big Business, Big Labor and Big Agriculture pressure groups are endangering our democracy—there ought to be fairly unanimous agreement. If there is not, we are in a worse way even than Mr. Chase believes.

Here you will learn how the business of legislation actually gets done. You will learn who the "Me First" boys are, how they operate, and where they are leading us. It is not a pretty picture. It is an ugly and fearful picture, compounded of selfishness, greed and, all too often, hypocrisy. But it is a picture the average citizen must look at steadily and whole, even if this means coming up against a decided shock here and there.

If, for instance, the reader has accepted uncritically the smooth propaganda of the American Farm Bureau Federation or the National Association of Manufacturers, he is in for a heavy jolt or two. For one of the best points Mr. Chase makes is that some of those who talk most fluently in public in praise of free enterprise are the very ones who are privately promoting the drift toward collectivism. There is a similar disillusionment waiting for those readers who still think that the expansion of the Federal Government during the past twelve years was a plot against the good old U.S.A. inspired mostly by Moscow. The men who collectivized American farming, Mr. Chase carefully notes, were not the long-haired bureaucrats we cheaply pillory as crack-pots, but the hard-headed commercial farmers who run the slickest lobby in Washington and know how to make Congress go down the line.

Discussing this book, someone remarked that the publishers ought to give away a pair of rose-tinted spectacles with every copy sold. This was his way of saying that the reader will have a hard time sharing the author's confident conclusion that we can check the pressure groups and divert their activities to more constructive channels. After following the selfish skulduggery of the "Me First" boys through a hundred of Mr. Chase's luminous pages, the reader is bound to be skeptical of any reform program. Can the pressure groups really be converted to the common good? Now if religion were a dynamic force among us. . .

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I LIED TO LIVE: A Year as a German Family Slave.
By Alexander Janta. Roy Publishers. \$2.75

THIS IS THE STORY of a Polish prisoner of war who had to pose as a French officer to avoid certain death. Polish fighters, officers and privates alike, who were captured in French ranks, were not accorded the status of prisoners of war. They were considered guerillas and partisans and only the fate reserved for those awaited them. The story begins with the capture of the author of this book, Alexander Janta; out of the confusion of these last few hours came his melancholy search in the inhospitable prison camp for some corner where the mud and cold were less plentiful, and finally he was handed over to a crude German peasant to do the meanest chores on the farm.

Here he meets others of his countrymen. Their lot, though wretched enough, is better than his own, for they are volunteer laborers for the conquering Germans. He dared not betray himself even to them—that would have meant specially harsh treatment and brutal death at the hands of the Germans for himself, and probably even for others. This was a particularly severe tax on his emotions and loyalty to his people. Suspicion, however, catches up with him at last, but by that time his plans are already laid. What these plans were, he wisely does not reveal in his book, but by means of them he made good his escape out of Germany.

The whole story is written in a pleasing style and is interesting to read. But there is more in the book than just the printed word. A journalist unwillingly turned farm-hand—that is about the briefest description a reviewer can give of the mentality expressed in this small volume. For Alexander Janta was a journalist by profession and a world traveler. He shows a keen sensibility in his narrative. To such a sensitive mind the bitter disappointment at having to surrender as a defeated officer, the bitter hate and utter contempt towards his kinsmen manifested on every side of him, were evils more than ordinarily painful. The author does not describe his emotions forcefully and vividly, but the very simplicity of his narrative conveys them to the reader even more strongly.

The paper binding of the book, which is probably due to wartime conditions, may unfortunately give a false impression that the story is not worthwhile JOSEPH ROUBIK

THE WANDERER. A Novel of Dante and Beatrice. By Nathan Schachner. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$3

THE WANDERER is an attempt, by an obviously sincere lover of Dante and his works, to portray the wanderings—literal, allegorical, moral and mystical—of the poet and exile; and no other lover of Dante will be surprised if the attempt is not wholly successful. But, a *voler dir lo vero*, the result is too unimaginative for fiction and too imaginary for history. It lacks dialog, characterization, suspense, plot and denouement; and there is no real effort to re-create the age.

The accounts of Dante's carousals with Forese Donati (Chap. 9) and of the torments of sensual temptation in Pietra's cottage (Chap. 17) are vivid enough; but the unwary reader is given no hint that these constructions of the imagination are based on no evidence but a few poems that seem to be merely rather difficult literary exercises. If Dante wrote all six poems of the famous *tenzone*—and there is not a shadow of evidence that Forese could write a line of verse—the carousal episode becomes poor fiction and worse biography; and if "Pietra" is a symbol of stony-hearted Florence—*parvi mater amoris*—the cottage scene is a piece of literary—and ethical—license.

Mr. Schachner is a compromiser. Dante says in the *Vita Nuova* (II, 10) that his conscience overcame all sensual seductions in his youthful love. Mr. Schachner believes him. The same Dante tells us with much more emphasis in the *Convivio* (I,ii,16;II,xv,12) that his love poems are allegories inspired not by "passion but virtue." Mr. Schachner refuses to believe him (p. 245). And so, by a bit of psychoanalytical legerdemain, Dante becomes not merely a sensualist but a liar. For all I know, he may have been both. But so far no one has given the proof.

Mr. Schachner's qualifications as a historian are not reassuring. He thinks that Santa Maria Novella was a Franciscan church (p. 184) and that the Inquisitor of Verona was a "Franciscan monk" (p. 283); that the Duomo

was in "the north portion" of Florence (p. 185) and that Giotto's Bargello painting was made while Dante was alive (p. 185); that Dante who kissed the Emperor's foot (*Epis.*, vii, 9) was allowed to kiss the Papal hand (p. 189) and that Boniface was outraged not at Anagni but in Rome (p. 217); and so of much else.

GERALD G. WALSH

MILITARY OCCUPATION AND THE RULE OF LAW. Ernst Fraenkel. Oxford. \$3.50

TIMELY THOUGH IT IS, this book will never make even the lowest rung of the best-sellers' ladder, and even experts in the field will find it a heavy assignment. Extremely thorough, crammed full of rather dull case-stories and learned references, it is as dry as any academic tome has ever been. That is too bad, for it ought to be read by many.

It is an analysis, from the angle of municipal and international law, of the Allied occupation of the Rhineland after the last war. But its purpose is not historical. Although the author is aware of, and takes pains to point out, the really great differences between the problems that faced Allied occupation of Germany after the last war, and those that are beginning to face them now, his aim is definitely to dissect the past with a view to the future. A German himself, the author is fair to both sides and seems to desire an effective occupation of Germany after this war—provided it is according to the "rule of law."

Just what, in military occupation, is this rule of law, is unfortunately a question by no means easy to answer, contrary to first-sight impression. To arrive at the answer the most painstaking effort in intelligent, honest and informed thinking is required.

There is no universally accepted body of clearly defined and detailed "occupation law." Provisions contained in the Hague Conventions cover the ground only partly, especially as they deal with questions of strictly military, "belligerent" occupation, rather than with questions of that occupation which is to follow the final peace terms, that occupation which is to be prolonged, "pacific." The law according to which Germany is to be occupied, therefore, must be created, and the author hopes that this creation will be better than the Rhineland Agreement of June, 1919.

Now the Anglo-Saxon common-law—and specifically American—conception of the rule of law is in some respects different from the continental Roman law, specifically German (not Nazi) conception. Which is to be applied? It seems to be the author's desire that Allied occupation of Germany should take into consideration German legal feeling and thinking, in order better to assure its success. In any case, he urges—if with academic detachment—that whatever rule of law is decided upon, it be clearly and minutely defined and consistently applied.

One closes this book with the impression that the coming occupation of Germany, from the legal point of view alone, is an almost insurmountably complex task. It is by no means eased by the fact that it will be discharged by several Powers, each with its own legal "feeling and thinking." The author's partiality to American concepts and practices is clear. And most surely American public opinion, the American Government at home, its military and civilian representatives abroad, are here burdened with a tremendous responsibility—and opportunity. Do they realize it fully? Will they act on that realization?

M. STAERK

WILLIAM T. HOGAN, S.J., Master of Arts in Economics from Fordham University, is now studying Philosophy at Woodstock College, Md.

REV. L. BLEIJS, a member of the Netherlands Province of the Redemptorist Fathers, who was forced to go underground because of his resistance to the Nazis in Holland, escaped to England by way of Switzerland and is now a Chaplain on the Staff of Prince Bernhard.

JOHN PICK, Catholic educator and writer, is the author of *Gerard Manley Hopkins, Priest and Poet*.

WILLIAM L. MORAN, S.J., is following his theological course at Weston College.

M. STAERK is professor of International Relations at Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pa.

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THEATRE

REBECCA. The Daphne du Maurier play brought to the Barrymore by Victor Payne-Jennings, after several hundred performances on the road, is as impressive as almost any play could be in such conditions. Rebecca was born, so to speak, in the pages of a novel. She was then given a wide and very successful moving-picture run, and now she has belatedly reached New York, and spoken drama.

The performance at the Barrymore is admirably acted by its cast, from the work of its three leading players—Bramwell Fletcher, Diana Barrymore and Florence Reed—to that of the lad who carries one tray out on the stage. Miss Barrymore, in her first stage appearance with her husband, Bramwell Fletcher, is particularly appealing to me. The shyness, self-consciousness and nervousness which one of the critics misguidedly diagnosed as the first Barrymore stage fright in history, was exactly what the girl bride of a middle-aged widower must have experienced in entering her bridegroom's gloomy and depressing home. His housekeeper alone was enough to give Diana and the audience a nervous chill, and succeeded in doing it on the stage.

I am sorry to introduce a note of criticism into the general praise of Miss Reed's performance, but it struck me that once or twice she rather over-played her sinister role. Miss Barrymore, however, helped no doubt by the support of her husband, gave us a surprisingly well graduated performance, from her entrance on the stage to her final consciousness of her husband's crime and her successful call on her inner strength to help him and herself.

One of the hardest scenes any actress can play is that of a character who must listen in silence to another character's confession of a crime. She can show emotion only by facial expression, but never to the extent of dimming the effect of her associate's playing. Another Barrymore, Ethel, gave us, a month or two ago, one of the finest examples I have ever seen of just that test of genius. Her reaction to the story that broke her heart was the increasingly icy calm of a woman gradually taxed to the limit of her fortitude. Diana was not so subtle as that, but I'll wager that in another ten or twenty years she will be.

We all know the story of *Rebecca*, so we need not repeat it here. It only remains to say that Mr. Fletcher, Miss Barrymore, Miss Reed and their associates—Miss Bannerman, Mr. Temple, Mr. Horton, Mr. Treseder and George Baxter—gave a performance well worth seeing. Watson Barratt helps by his somber setting, and a necessary touch of lightness is supplied by the appearance of Franklin Fox in what looks like a pair of tights but is really his outfit for a costume ball.

ELIZABETH JORDAN

FILMS

A SONG TO REMEMBER. Music lovers are going to label this film a rare cinema treat; meanwhile, even those moviegoers with little musical appreciation will be captivated by its Technicolor beauty, its dramatic overtones and the charming manner in which its musical interludes are presented. This is the story of Frederic Chopin (Cornel Wilde), a genius who is buffeted about emotionally by patriotism, devotion to the teacher who helps make him famous, a romantic attachment for the selfish George Sand (Merle Oberon) and his creative inspiration. Paul Muni is magnificent as the elderly professor who envisions the possibilities of his unusual pupil, guides him to Paris and there sees Chopin lost to the cause of Polish freedom and his friends through the wiles of the artful authoress. There are power and force in this battle for a man's talent, but there are also tender, sensitive moments exquisitely handled by the friendly teacher who insists that Chopin's genius belongs to the world. Threaded through the dramatic tale is a generous share of the great man's compositions and, amazingly enough, they have been made so important a part of the whole that one is not conscious of the frequent transitions from drama to music. Classical offerings—mostly Chopin with a bit of Liszt—have never been treated more kindly or beautifully on the screen. All the cast and the director, Charles Vidor, merit praise for this artistic achievement. *Adult* audiences, with or without a devotion to the classics, will be delighted with this. (Columbia)

I'LL BE SEEING YOU. Simple and unpretentious, this story of a pair of human misfits offers moments packed with sentiment and poignancy. Joseph Cotton is a neuropsychiatric veteran of the Pacific war, on furlough, and Ginger Rogers is a prisoner, serving a sentence for manslaughter, on an eight-day leave to spend Christmas with her kindly aunt's family when they meet on the train. Their holiday interval is a pleasant idyll, one that helps to restore the man's confidence in himself and, of course, ends with romance. The homey touches contributed by Shirley Temple, Spring Byington and Tom Tully as small-town relatives are highlights of the picture. Shirley's interpretation of the adolescent cousin who insists on reminding her visitor of her unfortunate position is well handled. Joseph Cotton's development of the rehabilitated soldier is touching and true, but, sad to say, Miss Rogers never seems happy or convincing in her role. There will be some lumps in your throat though you will laugh often, too, when you see this one, for it is a heartwarming piece of filmfare for *mature* audiences. (Selsnick International-United Artists) MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

BIG-CITY NEWSPAPERS are publishing feature stories of the cigarette situation in their respective metropolitan areas. . . . One reporter began his article like this: "In a stretch of ninety-seven city blocks I could not find a store with cigarettes on hand. Everywhere in this section appeared signs reading: 'Sorry, No Cigarettes Today.' As I conversed with one particular storekeeper, would-be customer after customer popped in and asked for cigarettes. To each, the proprietor with a note of weary sadness in his voice, returned the same response: 'I may have some next week, but there's nothing now.' This is pretty much the situation everywhere. I learned that wholesalers are creating unofficial ration cards which retailers will distribute among their customers."

How, one wonders, would the papers treat a certain different type of shortage if it were to emerge. . . . Would they feature articles by reporters somewhat as follows. . . . "In a stretch of ninety-seven city blocks I could not find one Catholic Church that was generating Sanctifying Grace. Everywhere in this section the Churches bore signs reading: 'Sorry, No Sanctifying Grace Today.' As I conversed with the pastor of a large church, parishioner after parishioner came in and inquired: 'Father, when will we be able to get Sanctifying

Grace?' In each instance, with the same note of weary sadness in his voice, the pastor returned the same response: 'We hope to get some next week but there's nothing at all on hand right now.' This is pretty much the situation everywhere. In most dioceses of the land, the Sacraments, for some unknown reason, are either producing Sanctifying Grace in greatly reduced quantities or not at all. To prevent hoarding and to ensure equitable distribution of the shrinking supply, Church authorities are allotting ration cards to regular parishioners. . . . Never will newspapers publish feature articles of this type. . . . Never will there be a shortage of Sanctifying Grace. . . . Wherever the Catholic Church operates, Sanctifying Grace will pour forth in heaping abundance. . . . As the setting-up of TVA means increased electrical power, the setting up of a Catholic Church means increased spiritual power in any area. . . . Whether or not a dying man has cigarettes on his person means nothing with respect to his eternal destiny. . . . Whether or not a dying man has Sanctifying Grace on his person means everything with respect to his eternal career. . . . In view of the absolute necessity of Sanctifying Grace for salvation, it is consoling to know that never will there be a shortage, that never will a man encounter signs reading: "Sorry. No Sanctifying Grace Today."

JOHN A. TOOMEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

KEYS OF THE KINGDOM

EDITOR: In a review that appeared in *AMERICA* for January 6, dealing at length with *The Keys of the Kingdom*, I noticed a brief passage which praised the Legion of Decency for "trying to do more than merely censor films," and spoke of the Legion's efforts to keep the films up to the "minimum requirements of morality and good taste."

In view of a possible misunderstanding that might arise from these words, it is important to note that the Legion of Decency is not a censorship body. Censorship implies statutory authorization, police power and absolute pre-release control of films.

The Legion is an organization of persons interested in the moral quality of motion-picture entertainment and in the effects of films, morally, upon audiences. The reviewers of the Legion attend previews of films and classify films in terms of moral standards. The Legion distributes these moral ratings for the information and guidance of the public. The Legion urges that all become more aware of the moral problem in films and more intelligently discriminating in the choice of motion-picture entertainment.

While vitally and necessarily interested in the wholesomeness and moral elevation of subject material in motion pictures, the Legion does not undertake to suggest to producers what the subject material should be beyond the requirement that that material be morally acceptable.

VERY REV. MONSIGNOR JOHN J. McCLAFFERTY,
Executive Secretary,
Legion of Decency

New York, N. Y.

COPERNICUS AND GRESHAM

EDITOR: In your issue of January 13, you carry an article (by Eric P. Kelly) on Krakow University—which by many is thought of as "the University of Copernicus," for there Copernicus began his higher studies. This article is followed immediately by one (from the pen of Charles Keenan) on Gresham's Law—which was propounded by Copernicus 32 years before it was explained by Thomas Gresham.

The juxtaposition of the articles, without recorded intent, struck me as a happy coincidence.

Halifax, N. S. M. W. BURKE-GAFFNEY, S.J.

LIGHT ON DUMBARTON OAKS

EDITOR: Father Robert C. Hartnett's article, *Limitations of Dumbarton Oaks* (*AMERICA*, December 23), wins notable appreciation in your correspondence column (January 13) from Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman. Those who saw Professor Hoffman's letter in the *New York Times* (December 16) on the Franco-Russian alliance and recall the completeness of his sympathy for the geopolitical wisdom he finds in it, may wonder whether his endorsement is an unqualified advantage. Both he and Father Hartnett have at all events performed a welcome service in setting clear the basic fact about Dumbarton Oaks—that the controlling feature in the plan is not a juridical institution; it is a concert of the Powers to enforce against alleged aggressors their unanimous decision. It is not intended to operate under a declared rule of law incumbent in justice on all.

Recognition of this basic fact is of prime importance to straight thinking on the issues involved. It needs to be clearly insisted upon precisely because it is not what was foreshadowed in the series of statements made by our Secretary of State preparatory to the conference. A true society of states, operating according to a constitution in which elementary principles of jurisprudence would be embodied, may be in this twentieth century beyond the bounds of possibility: this is the conviction of many. Whether a preliminary conference composed not of three military allies but of representatives of all nations willing and able to cooperate would necessarily justify that conviction must remain an academic

question so long as the United States is principally bent on a continuing coalition with the impressive power of Russia.

Whatever our view of the practical possibilities, we ought to keep the distinction clear between a politico-military partnership, on the one hand, and a juridical society of nations, on the other. Senator Vandenberg's proposal of a military alliance with England and Russia to preclude resurgence of the German power, whatever its merit on other scores, is a model of the naked honesty we must practise in the discussion of Dumbarton Oaks. Father Hartnett's article has contributed in the pages of *AMERICA* to dispersing foggyiness.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

EDGAR R. SMOTHERS, S.J.

NURSES' DRAFT

EDITOR: Having spent two years recruiting nurses for the armed forces, I was particularly interested in the editorial in your issue of January 6 concerning the Nurse Draft. The editorial demonstrated what has seemed to me to be one of the basic reasons for the failure to fill the nursing needs of the military services—that is, lack of realism on the part of the public.

There have been innumerable reasons given as to why voluntary enlistments have not been adequate—such as prohibition against married nurses, age limits, unnecessarily high physical standards, relative rank vs full rank, etc. These obstacles long since were removed by the Army without great increases in recruitment.

Over a year ago the War Manpower Commission, through its Committee on Procurement and Assignment for Nurses, classified every nurse. Those eligible who could be released from civilian nursing without disrupting necessary services were classified 1A. Every effort was made to impress those 1A nurses with the urgent need for volunteering. If personal reasons were insurmountable, the nurse then was urged to change to essential civilian nursing and thus release another nurse. Recruitment for the armed forces under this program were still far below the needs.

In some parts of the country voluntary enlistments have been high, but in places where there are concentrations of nurse power (i.e., New York State, where there are about one-eighth of the nation's nurses) the program has been less than half successful in meeting the quota.

This situation should not be so surprising. The medical profession did not overwhelm the military services with enlistments, and there Selective Service was an effective aid.

To the public it would seem that nursing is based entirely on idealism. To nurses, however, it is also a business, a job. The majority of the "idealists" eligible for military service have already volunteered. Most of the eligible nurses remaining in civilian roles have resisted all appeals, not because they do not know the need, but because they do not choose to volunteer. From first-hand experience in the Nurse Recruitment program, I believe that, in view of the urgent and increasing nursing demands of the military services, nothing short of a draft will give an adequate number of nurses in time to fill the need.

Washington, D. C.

MARGARET H. DREW, R. N.

TRIBUTE

EDITOR: More power to George H. Dunne and his letter in the January 20 issue. A little more honesty of this sort might dispose intelligent Negroes more kindly toward those who are trying to overcome a mistaken policy shown by many Catholics towards Negroes.

Highland Park, Mich.

B. M. LAVERY

(The views expressed under "Correspondence" are the views of writers. Though the Editor publishes them, he may or may not agree with the writer. The Editor believes that letters should be limited to 300 words. He likes short, pithy letters, merely tolerates lengthy ones.)

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WHEN CHRIST HIMSELF explains for us the meaning of one of His parables, as He does in the Gospel for Sexagesima Sunday, there is nothing left for us but to think deeply over His words, apply them stringently to ourselves and pray that we may be among "those who hear the word and hold by it with a noble and generous heart, and endure, and yield a harvest" (Luke 8: 4-15).

As an example of one who held by the word with a noble and generous heart and endured and yielded a harvest, the Church this Sunday gives unusual prominence to Saint Paul. In the Collect we pray that "by the intercession of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be strengthened against all adversities." On the day of his conversion Paul asked our Lord: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Once he had received the answer, there was nothing in the world that could keep him from doing it with a "noble and generous heart." In today's Epistle, Saint Paul himself gives us a stirring account of all the difficulties he encountered in holding to the word of God.

In the whole account (read it!) there is not the slightest trace of the very common "why-should-this-happen-to-me" spirit, no complaining, no false heroics. He takes it for granted that one who follows Christ must expect to encounter suffering, opposition, persecution. He "boasts" about his beatings, his imprisonments, his shipwrecks.

His boasting is not a vain thing. It is an effort to glorify the power of Christ in him. He is not willing to let it be said that others will suffer more, endure more, risk more for trade or glory or money than he will for the love of Christ, for that would be to give to money and trade and glory a greater power over the hearts of men than the love of Christ. Knowing that human love delights in the doing of hard things as a proof of love, he wants to show that the love of Christ can drive even a weak man to still harder feats of love.

For this reason he boasts even of his weaknesses. "I delight to boast of the weaknesses that humiliate me, so that the strength of Christ may enshrine itself in me." It is nothing that a strong man should be strong, but that a weak man should rise to heroic strength through the love that is in him, that is a compliment to the love that drives him on and to Him who is the object of that love. "There was given to me," says Saint Paul, "a sting of the flesh, an angel of Satan to buffet me." Just what this "sting of the flesh" was, we do not know. It may have been strong temptation to impurity. It may have been a distressingly humiliating illness. It may have been the opposition of his fellow countrymen. It was so distressing that three times he besought our Lord "to rid me of it," only to receive the answer: "My grace is enough for thee; my strength finds its full scope in thy weakness." Saint Paul boasts that it was only the strength of Christ that made him strong: "I am well content with these humiliations of mine, with the insults, the hardships, the persecutions, the times of difficulty I undergo for Christ; when I am weakest, then I am strongest of all."

We have many things in common with Saint Paul. We have our weakness. We have the word of God in our hearts. "We have heard, O Lord, with our ears," we say in today's Introit, "our fathers have declared it to us." We have the same mistrust of our little strength. In the Collect we tell God that "we do not put our trust in anything that we ourselves can do." We have the love of Christ in our hearts and at least a desire to rise to the hard demands of this love.

We need more of Paul's courage, more of his enthusiasm, more of his complete abandonment of ourselves to Christ and to the cause of Christ, more of his fierce determination that nothing can tear the word of God from our hearts. "Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will affliction or distress or persecution or hunger or nakedness or peril or the sword? . . . Of this I am fully persuaded; neither death nor life, nor angels or principalities or powers, neither what is present nor what is to come, no force whatever, neither the height above us nor the depth beneath us, nor any other creature, will be able to separate us from the love of God, which comes to us in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Romans 8:38-39).

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